

"Testimonia" of Byzantine musical practice, chiefly collected from nonmusical (literary) sources, III.

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"A written literature...may shed light on the history of musical ideas, practices and institutions within a culture, and on internal changes both in music itself and in its social, ritual, and other functions; such literature is available for the 'high cultures' of the ancient Mediterranean, Europe, and much of Asia, and has been extensively, but by no means exhaustively studied".¹⁾

The present paper is a status report of an on-going project with the objective to trace, in principle, the complete literary evidence on the musical culture of Byzantium.²⁾ This systematic and hopefully exhaustive collection of "testimonia" of the actual use and impact of the Byzantine music was begun more than a decade ago, inspired by the late Jørgen Raasted. It includes evidence scattered in all kinds of literary texts from the entire Byzantine millennium, or even later, and has now been carried almost through, as far as the historians of the period c. 600-1600 are concerned.

Before embarking on a more ambitious publication of all of my findings - be it in the form of a small monograph or a major article, I would like to present rather than discuss a few more of them. I shall willingly admit that my perusal of thousands of printed pages of the works of Byzantine writers of history (including of course the Chronographers and one or two authors belonging in the borderland between historiography proper and *Sachprosa* in the more technical sense) on the look out for "testimonia" of musical (and liturgical) practice and its impact on the worshipper has to some extend been a frustrating experience. Nevertheless, I think it has on the whole been worthwhile, seeing that students of Byzantine Music will in the event be able to form a clearer picture of what to expect (or sometimes rather not to expect) from this specific *corpus* of texts.

The examples now to follow will (as in the preceding contributions) be presented in chronological order.

Joseph Genesius

This 9th/10th century historian³⁾ has the following remarkable passage on the emperor Leo V (813-820) - indeed a true gem of observation:

1, 16 [Lachm 17-19] ήν δὲ φιλότιμος πάνυ, καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐμβοῦν καὶ κακόρρυθμος, δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Φάρου ναὸν καὶ τόδε γνώριμον διεφαίνετο τοῖς ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτῷ ψαλμῳδῆς λαρυγγίζοντι. ἔξιρχε γάρ τῶν ψαλλόντων ἐνίστε, καὶ μάλιστα τότε, φωνῶν· "τῷ παντάνακτος ἐξεφαύλισαν πόθῳ," οὐ γε διοιλασθήσας ἄρα τὴν θείαν δικην περιφανῆς ἐπεσπάσαστο τῷ ὑμνῷ, προφητείας ταύτης συντελεσθείσης.

"And he was highly ambitious, even if out of tune, when he was singing loudly. His voice was so strong that his vocal utterances in the church of Pharos were clearly recognizable to those approaching. On occasion he would act as the leader of the choir, in particular when chanting "They exterminated [him] by the longing for the Almighty" [MR Dec. 25, φδη ζ', δ ἐρμός, δλλος]. Obviously this also [later] had a prophetic sense, when he at his sinful fall through the hymn provoked upon himself the divine justice." ⁴⁾

Leo Diaconus

From this 10th century historian⁵⁾ we quote the following two passages on Nicephorus Phocas:

V, 8 [Haase, p. 89]

ἐν δὲ τοῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ τοῖς παννύχοις πρὸς Θεόν στάσεσιν ἀκομπτός τε καὶ ἀδαμάντινος, ὀμετεώριστον ἐν τοῖς ὑμνῳδίαις τὸν νοῦν συντηρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ μάταια μηδόλως ῥεμβόμενον.

"At the prayers and Nocturns in honour of God he proved a true ironside, and he would follow the hymns of praise with internal concentration, without being diverted by petty distractions."⁶⁾

VII, 5 [Haase, p. 120-121]

λέγεται βαθείας ὅρτι τυνκτός ἐνισταμένης, περιπαθῆ γενόμενον τὸν Φωκᾶν τῷ δρασμῷ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ ἀλνεῖν, εὐχαῖς τε τὸ θεῖον ἔξιλεονθεῖ, τὸ Δαρβιδικὸν ἐκεῖνο κατεπάρδοντα λόγιον· Δίκασον. Κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς με. αἰφνίδιον δὲ φωνὴν ἔξ αέρος ἐνηγεμένην αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπα περιβομβεῖν, μὴ περαιτέρω τοῦ ψαλμοῦ χωρεῖν διακελεύονσαν· ὡς τοῦ στρατηλάτου Βάρδα καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ψαλμοῦ προεξαιτήσαντος λόγια. ἐπιτρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνηγηθείσης φωνῆς θαυμβηθῆναι τε τῷ καινῷ τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς διαναστῆναι περιδέμι, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἕω φαῦσιν ἐκδέχεσθαι.

"We are told that Phocas in the still of the night, being beside himself with pain and rage because of the flight of his fellow-conspirators, (121) in his depression could find no rest and through payers was imploring for the Grace of God, intoning that song by the Prophet David that begins with the following words: *"Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me"* (LXX Ps. 34, 1; King James Version 35, 1). Suddenly a roaring voice from above filled his ears, commanding him not to carry on with the Psalm, for field marshal Bardas had already prayed the same words from the Psalm, hinting at Phocas himself. When he had heard these words for the third time, he became frightened at this unusual portent, and rising in fear from his bed he awaited the break of dawn."

Cecaumenus

This military writer⁷⁾, who is of course not to be considered a historian in the strictest sense, offers at least one passage of great interest to our project:

[Greek text after Litavrīn]

'Ακούσας δέ, δι τούπον σοι κάμνειν καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι εἰς τὸν βίον, μὴ ἐκδώσῃς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἐπινοίας τινάς καὶ κόπους ὀμετρήτους, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀπολέσῃς τὴν ψυχὴν σου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καταφρονήσας τῆς ψαλμωδίας ἀκολουθίας ἐπιλάθη τῆς παρὰ τῶν ὄρθοδξῶν κοσμικῶν τελουμένης, οἷον δρθρους καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ὥρων, σὺν τούτοις ἐπερινοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποδείπνων. Ταῦτα γάρ εἰς σύντασιν τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν εἰσι καὶ δι αὐτῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν γνωριζόμεθα εἰναι δούλοι οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπει τὸ διμολογεῖν Θεόν καὶ οἱ ἀπιστοι καὶ οἱ διάμονες καὶ πάντες Θεόν εἶναι ὄμολογοντι. Καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτας τὰς λειτουργίας χρή σε ποιεῖν, ὅλλ. εἰ δύνασαι, καὶ μεσονύκτιον εὐᾶσι εἰπών καν ἔνα ψαλμόν· διὰ γάρ ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἀπεριστάστως δυνήσῃς τῷ Θεῷ. Ωσπερ γάρ σοι παραφέλλω σπουδαῖον εἶναι εἰς τὰ βιωτικά, οὗτως θέλω εἶναι σε σπουδαῖον καὶ εἰς τὰ πνευματικά, δπως ἔξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰ ενελπις, καὶ ὀπλῶς θέλω σε εἶναι ἔχοχωτον εἰς πάντα τὰ δέοντα. Καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς δτι· «Ο δεῖνα ἀκολουθίαν ἐκκλησιαστικήν οὐ ποιεῖ καὶ εὐημερεῖ». Οὐ γάρ οἶδας, τι ἐν κρυπτῷ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐργάζεται. Οὕτως γάρ ἐν κρυπτῷ τινές ἀγαθά ἐργαζόμενοι ἔλαθον οὐ μόνον ἀνθράποις, ὄλλα καὶ τὸν διάβολον. Εἰ δὲ ὀμεληταί τινες καὶ κακοὶ προκόπτουσιν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Ἐβραῖοι γάρ καὶ ἀρετικοὶ καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ καὶ ὄπλως ὄλλοι πολλοὶ οἱ μήτε πελραν δογμάτων ἔχοντες μήτε εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεόν ἐλπίζοντες ζῶσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐημεροῦνται καὶ θενάντων ἀρχοντι καὶ τῆς τον Θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος ἀπολαύσουσι, καὶ οὐ ζηλοῦμεν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐημερίαν. Ή γάρ ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ οἰς κρίμασιν οἶδε διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα.

"If you hear me saying to you that you ought to endeavour and take good care of your household, that does not imply that you should have all sorts of ideas and take unnecessary trouble, thus losing your soul, despising God and forgetting the Services for the Orthodox Christians, such as the Matins, the Four Hours, as well as Vesper and Complete. For this is part of our Being, and through our participation in these Services we prove to be the servants of God. Since to confess God, is what even the Infidels and the Demons do, and everyone admits the existence of God. You should however not confine yourself to these Services, but when possible also pray the Night Office, at least one of the Psalms of it. Just at that hour you may talk with God and find peace in prayer. It is indeed no trouble, but rather a joy to keep quiet conversation with God. In the same way as I recommend to you to take the things of external life seriously, thus I also want you to take spiritual things seriously, in order to find in both of them a reason for gaining hope: In short, I want you to fulfill all of your duties meticulously. And don't try to get away with excuses such as: "So and so does not go to church, and still he is doing well." For you don't know what he is doing in secret. There are people who are doing good in secret in such a way that neither human beings nor the Devil himself learn anything about it. Therefore don't wonder, if negligent or bad people have success. There are of course even Jews and heretics and Saracens, in short a lot of people, who know nothing of our dogmas and cherish no hopes of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the True God; and some of them are also doing quite well as rulers of Nations and enjoying the bounties of God. We should not envy their success. God's Goodness rules everything according to his own decisions, only known to himself." 8)

Ioannes Cinnamus

In the *Historiae* of Ioannes Cinnamus 9) we find two small passages of some relevance to our project:

Hist. L. I, 10 [Meineke, 25-26]

The monk praying a Vigil for the dying Emperor, *is said to have heard the voices of singers*, while he was absorbed in prayer [τὸν δὲ τῇ δεῖσαι προσευχηκότα φωνῶν ἀκοῦσαι λέγεται ἀδόντων τινῶν.]

Hist. L. V, 8 [Meineke, 221]

The following passage is highly interesting: Here the Hungarian Roman-Catholic clergy and congregation apparently chant a Byzantine hymn in honour of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus:

Στέφανος μὲν οὗτω συσκευασμένος κατὰ Ἦρωμαίων ἐφέρετο. βασιλέα δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Οὐδυνῶν γεγονότα ἔξιεσαν οἱ ταῦτη ἀνθρώποι πανδεῖμενοι, δισοι τε ἐς τοὺς ἵερέας κατελέγοντο ἐριουργίδες ἀναβεβλημένοι στολάς καὶ τὰ ιερά χερσὶν ἔχοντες λόγια, καὶ δσοι δχλικόν καὶ δημιάδες ἦν, ὡδύν τινα ἐμμελῶς συντεθειμένην ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρμοδιῶτατα προσφωνούμντες. εἶχε δὲ ὡδεῖς ὁ συμμαχήσας κύριε τῷ πρασιτάτῳ Δασβίδιον¹⁰⁾ καὶ τὰ ἔξι.

"Thus prepared Stephen [king of the Magyars] moved towards the Byzantines. But when the emperor had arrived in Hungary, the inhabitants all went out to receive him; and their clerics vested in paraments of wool, carrying the Gospels in their hands, together with the lay multitudes, in the most harmonious way chanted a sacred hymn, composed by our composers:

"O, lord who assisted David, mildest of men"

etc."

Eustathius Thessalonicensis

The archbishop's account of the Norman Sack of Salonica (De expugnatione Thessalonicae)¹¹⁾ has a number of passages of relevance to our project. I of course realize that the majority of these are already familiar to students of Byzantine Music. For the sake of documentation, I nevertheless venture to present them even in my context.

Tafel 298 (Bekker, CSHB), 479-480.

Ίτέον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ θεωρητέον τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ ἑκεῖ, καὶ ἐρωτέον τίς ἄρα ἐν τούτοις ὁ πλινύσιος ἡ πένης, καὶ δοσα τοιαῦτα. ἀλλὰ τίς μὲν ἵεράται; τίς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐστί; τίς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ εἶναι ἐλλήχε; πάντες γάρ εἶδος ἔν τοι μορφὴ ἡ αὐτῆς· κανὸς εἰ μή τις ἀποκριθεῖς τῶν ἀλλων τὸ ἵερὸν εἰσέλθοι βῆμα, στησόμενος εἰς εὐχάριστα, καὶ τις ἀλλος εἰς ἵερόν ἀνέλθοι ὀδρίβαντα ψαλμοῦ χάριν, οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ. εἶχον δέ τι πάντες οὗτοι σεμνόν, εἰ καὶ ἀλλως λυπηρόν· λελυμένοι γάρ ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν πάντες τὰ ὑποδήματα τῶν τοῦ ἀγίου οἴκου κρηπίδων ἔγινοντο.

"If we then enter the churches, we will throw a glance at the people around us, and ask ourselves, who amongst them is rich and who is poor, and the like. But who is the priest, who is the *lector*, who is of the common folk? Seeing that all of them look alike and have the same exterior. And even if one of those who does not belong to the laity, would enter the holy choir and stand before God in prayer, and another one would mount the consecrated *ambon* to chant one of the Psalms, there would be no difference between him and those of the common folk. All of them had an air of venerability, even if this was due to deplorable circumstances. For all of them went without their sandals on their feet over the floors of the temples of God."¹²⁾

Tafel 299 (Bekker, CSHB), 482

Καὶ διε τῆμεις μὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου μυροβιλύτου ναῷ νῦνοντις ἱερούν ἐτελοῦμεν, περιστάμενοι τὸν περιώνυμον ἐλεήμονα, οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πλαγίαις τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος τὰ ἐσαντὸν ἐτέλουν, ἀντιφανοῦντες ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς πολύτιμας φωνὰς ὑπερφανεῖν ἐθέλοντες βοσκῆς κορυζώσας καὶ ἀπηχέσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θείων εὐαγγελίων ἐκφωνήσεσι πρός ξενοῖς οἱ ὄχαριτώτοτοι ἀντεπεξαγόμενοι, καὶ συγχέοντες οὕτω τὸ εὐντάκτον, καὶ τὴν ἱεράν ἀρμονίαν λύοντες.

"As we were chanting holy hymns in the Church of the Great Spender of Myrrh [Saint Demetrius], gathered together around [the shrine of] the famous Compassionate, they were from the side of the holy choir having great fun, screaming at us and trying to quench our performance in the local language in their stupid and abominable outbursts. In many cases those blockheads would intervene with their mocking cries at the chanting of the Holy Gospels, disturb the liturgical order and interrupt the Divine Service."

Tafel 301 (Bekker, CSHB), 489-490

Οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ τοὺς θείους ναοὺς ὅμνοις ἀσκύλτως περιάρδεσθαι τότε, ἀλλ' εἶχε καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔργον τούτο ἐπίτρειαν. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρχάρις ἵκανοι ἡμέραι καὶ οὗτε ἐκλείοντο οὗτε σύναξις ἦν ἡ ἐθάς ὡς ὑμνεῖσθαι θεόν, ἀλλ' εἴ που ὡς ἐπὶ σκέπη καὶ ἀναπαύσει ἀχμαλωσίας, δοσα καὶ κατ' οἴκους, διε δέ ποτε καὶ τις ἄδεια εξεφάντη καὶ θεῖοι πυλεῶνες ἐκλείσθησαν καὶ φῶς μυστικὸν ἀνήφθη καὶ ἡρμόσθησαν ψαλμοὶ καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐτέλει καὶ λαός ἡμέτερος εἶχε σχολήν, κατὰ τιχῶν τότε ὁ δαιμῶν ἀντέτραπτε, τῶν φαύλων λατίνων ἐιστρεχόντων καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς φωναῖς ἐπιβούλευντων καὶ λαλαγούντων καὶ συνήθη βασιζόντων, εἴ πως ἐγκύπτωντι τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ καλοῦ.

"But we were not even able to chant the hymns in church, without being insulted, and even at this praiseworthy activity we were disturbed. In the beginning we could not close the churches for days on end, nor carry through the usual gatherings in praise of God. At most the enslaved citizens would seek for shelter and quiet here as they would otherwise do at home. When again a certain amount of safety had been established, you could close the consecrated doors, light the holy candles and lamps and intone the Psalms. The priest could celebrate and our people participate anew in the Divine Service in an orderly manner. Then however the Devil entered the scene as a crafty adversary. The inferior Latins would rush in, having an ear on the voices of the priests, and would chatter and gossip in their usual way, in order to disturb the coherence of the Sacred Service."

Tafel 303 (Bekker, CSHB), 497-499

⁷ Ην τηνικαῦτα καιρός, παρὰ τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς ἀλώσεως, καὶ περικοπὰς εὐσιγγελικὰς ἐπί ἐκκλησίας ἐκφωνεῖσθαι, δι᾽ ὧν τὰ τῆς Σιών στηλογραφιῶντα κακά, καὶ οὐ ἕστι φρενῶν ἱερολυγίαν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ὑπινόνυν αὐτά. ἔδοξε τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τηνικαῦτα, οὐαὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ ἀπεγνωκτί, διατάπτεσθαι τὰ καθ ἡμᾶς καὶ διεγέρειν ὡς οὐλὸν ἀπονιστάζοντας. ἵνα φαίνοιτο τοῖς μητὶ συνιεῖστι διὰ πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ προμηθέστατος. μηνύεται γοῦν ἡμῖν παννυχίδας ἀγρυπνητὰς ἐπιτάξαι περὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ναούς, παῖς·ων ἐκείνος κάνταυθε· τί γάτς καὶ ἔδει προτρέπειν εὐχεσθαι διπέρ ἐκείνος ἀπηγέρετο, τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως; ἦν δέ οἱ ἐπίνοια ὁσιοῦσθαι τὸ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἐπικρύπτειν τὴν δρεξιν, ἵνα δοκῇ πάντι πειρωπεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐφ ἀπασιν εἰ γε θέλει καὶ εὐχάρας τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οἵματι δέ, καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος οὕτω καραστῆσαι τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὡς εὐχῶν καὶ μόνων αὐτῆν δέεσθαι, δομοιν ὡς εἰ καὶ ἵστρος κατεργασάμενος ἐκ τίνος φαυλότητος ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνθρωπον, εἴται ἐπιτάσσει προσκαλεῖσθαι ἱερέως ἐφοδιάσσοντα ἡδη θνήσκοντα σωστικῷ ὄγκασματι. οὐδὲ γέρ τὸν ἐπιπόλαιος ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν βαθὺς εὐτραπελεύσθαι, δσα γε πειράσσασθαι τοὺς ἀνδρὸς τοὺς δεινοὺς γνωματεύειν ἡθη τῶν οἰς ἀν πειρύχωστι διδ καὶ ταῦτην πρυτανεῖτο τὴν θεοκλύτησιν, ὡς οὐκὶ ἀν τὸ θειὸν θεραπεύοιτο. δπως δ ἀν εἶχε τὸ πρόδρυμα, δ μὲν εἴπειν, οἱ δ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἐπίκουον. καὶ δὴ χρεών προλάμψειν τὸν ψάλλειν τὸν γλυκὺν μελῳδὸν Δαυίδ, ἐπῆλθεν οὐτὶ κατὰ αἰσιον τοῖς δεησομένοις (τὸν δὲ βαθὺς ὅρθρος τότε, οὐν λαμφθέντος ἡλίῳ ἐξλώμεν) ἐπιλέξασθαι ψαλμὸν ἐκείνον οὐν κατάρχει μὲν τὸ "οὐ θεός, ἥλθοσαν ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου", ἐφέπειται δὲ τὸ "εμίαναν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ὅγμὸν σου, ἔθεντο τὰ θνητιμαῖα τῶν δούλων σου" καὶ τὸ ἔξις, μόνον οὐν χρησμῷ δοῦντος τὸν προφήτου καὶ θεοπάτορος δι ἴντοφτείας τῶν ἡθροισμένων ἐις δέσιν, καὶ λέγοντος "τί ἀν θεοί μεθα πρεοβειών εἰς θεόν, ἔνθα ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ ἡμῶν ἀποπέφανται;"

"It was just about the time, when the siege was drawing towards its close that in the churches those sections of the Gospel were being read that proclaim the Fall of Sion (Mat 24; Mk 13; Lk 21,5 sqq.). Anyone in his senses interpreted those words as a portent of God against our city. And so the commander-in-chief who had already abandoned any military activities, decided to regulate our duties and thus wake us up from our lethargy. Thus he in those who were not too well informed of our situation created an impression of great concern. He ordered us to arrange Vigils with prayers throughout the night. But even that was a joke. How would he have to encourage prayers for the salvation of the city that he himself wished for? His purpose was to play the pious man and thus to hide his real goal. We were to be under the impression that he in any respect did care for the city, seeing that he also had prayers said for it. In my opinion he also wanted to indicate that the situation of the city was so bad that it could now only be helped by prayers. Just like a doctor who through a wrong treatment has brought his patient to the threshold of death, and then at last calls for a priest to administer the *viaticum*. For he was far from superficial, but rather profound in his irresolution. At least that was the experience that good judges of human character had had in their dealings with him. And therefore these Vigils served him as a veil, but not as a praise of God. Enough of him; he issued his orders and the clerics obeyed. As the noble singer David were to begin in a flamboyant manner, those praying had the unfortunate idea to select - it was early in the morning of the day of the sack of the city - the psalm that begins: "Lord, the gentiles have

fallen upon thy heritage" and further on its says: "O God, the heathens are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; ... The dead bodies of thy servants have they given ..." (LXX Ps. 78,1-2; King James Version 79, 1-2) Here the prophet and patriarch of God speaks like a prophet for the edification of those congregated in prayer: "What is the use of prayers to God, when he has already pronounced his condemnation of us?"

Εἶχεν οὐντα ταῦτα, πλείοσιν ἑτέροις παρασπιζόμενα συγκροτήμασι τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δηλώσεως, καὶ τοίνυν τῷ συχνῷ τούτων ἀπανταῖς ἀνεφρονοῦμεν, δύμιν συνάγοντες νοῦν καὶ τὸ πρώτην θράσος ἀποποιοῦμενοι (οὐ γάρ ἀν ἐκεῖνο θάρσος εἴποιμι ἐλλόγως εἴχομεν), καὶ ἔνοιμεν οὐκέτ' ἡμῖν εἶναι φυκτά. οὐκούν ἐφθησαν καταντῆσαι εἰς πέρας οἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δεητήριοι ἀρμονίαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἔτι τῶν ψαλμῶν ἐλοινμένων ἐν τοῖς τῶν δεομένων στόμασι, θρήνοις παρέβυνε, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθέντας ἐπτυρε, καὶ τοιαῦτα διέθετο ὅπερ οὐδὲ μεμνήσεσθαι τοὺς ζῶντας ἐν περ ὄνειροις, εἴπερ οὐ τὰ ἡδέα μόνον προπίπτουσι τῆς καθ' ὑπνον φαντασίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τὰ φόβον ἐνδειξάμενα.

"So it was with these portents, to which another amount of portents could be added, to make the disaster clear to all. In fact we through the great number of such portents made up our minds, concentrated, even if it was too late, abandoned our former rashness (that certainly was unfounded), and realized that to us there was no way of escape. For the songs of prayer in the churches had not yet ended, and the war forced upon those praying, besides the words of the Psalms, dirges and changed them into cries of pain and complaints of death. The war frightened the congregation so much that it turned to flight and found itself in a situation that living people in my opinion could only imagine in their dreams, seeing that in sleep not only the pleasant, but even the horrible appears before the spiritual eye."

Nicetas Choniata

This otherwise extremely important historian has yielded a very lean crop indeed; as a matter of fact I have found only two small passages of some interest to our project in the entire *historia*:¹³⁾

Bekk 331/2 (van Dieten, 255) ὡψὲ καὶ αὐτὸς [Andronicus] μεταχωρεῖ τῆς Δαμάλεως ὑποψήλας τὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐν τῷ τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ ὑποθεξάμενος μετὰ διαχύσεως "ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχή μου, ἐις τὴν ἀνάπτασίν σου, διτὶ Κύριος εὐπρέγησέ σε, διτὶ ἐξέιλετο τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐκ θανάτου, τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς μου ἀπὸ δακρύων καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπὸ ὄλισθήματος."

"Only late did Andronicus leave Damalis on board a man-of-war, and on his way through the harbour he sang with exultation the psalm of David: "Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord has dealt bountifully with thee. For thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling.""¹⁴⁾ (LXX Ps. 114, 7-8; King James Version Ps. 116, 7-8)

Of the inhuman attitude of the Latins our author says:

Bekk 391 (van Dieten, 301) οὐκ ἐπικλάται λιταῖς, οὐ θηλύνεται δάκρυσιν, οὐκ αἰμύλοις ἐλαρύνεται φθέγγισι. κανὸς ἀστὴ τις χάριεν, κλαγγὴ τοῦτο ικτίνων ἡ κρωμός κορώνης λογίζεται.

"It is not mitigated by prayers, it will not be weakened by tears, nor miltened by blandishing words. And however sweetly one [of us Greeks] would sing, it will be reckoned as the shriek of hawks or the croaking of crows."

Georgius Acropolita

The following passage dealing with Demetrius, the ambitious brother of a recently defunct metropolitan of Salonica John, describes the devotion of the latter:¹⁵⁾

42. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ δν προειρήκειμεν Ἰωάννην τὸν δεσπότην γεγενημένον παρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τὸ χρεών ἐλήφει. ὑπῆρχε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀδελφὸς Δημήτριος, δς μεταστειλάμενος πρεσβείαν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν τε δεσποτικοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐκεκληρονομήκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν πάντων τῶν ὑπὲκεινυν προστέαται. ἀλλ ἦν οὐτος οὐκ ἀδελφὸς φρυνῶν Ἰωάννη τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὅλλα πολλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ διέζευκτο. ἐκείνου μὲν γάρ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ χαίροντος - καὶ γάρ ἔλεγον οἱ τοι αὐτοῦ ἑιδότες μὴ ἀν ποτε ἀπολειφθῆναι μηδεμιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἑτοι τοῦ μὴ τῆς θείας ιεροτελεστίας ἐπακριόσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκάλυνε νόσος: προσέμχε δὲ παννυχίσιν εὐχαῖς, καὶ τὰς καθ' ὥραν ὑμνῳδίας ὄσημέραι ἐπλήρουν. ὡμίλει δὲ καὶ διηνεκές Ναζιραίοις, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ σπουδάσματος δτι πλείστου τὸ τοῦ μονήρους βίου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἱστορίας ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι τὴν προσφιλῶς διακείσθαι τοις οντας ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Δημήτριος ἐξ ἐναντίος εἶχε τοῦ τρόπου.

"Not much later the afore-mentioned metropolitan John who had been appointed by the emperor John died. But he had a brother Demetrius who had sent an embassy to the emperor and become the heir of his brother and had been ordered to rule over everything that had been under the defunct. He did not however cherish brotherly feelings towards his brother John but differed immensely from him. The former found pleasure in piety, devotion and a decent life - for those who had been familiar with him said that he would never one single day of the year fail to attend the Divine Service, unless prevented by illness. He observed the Vigils, and would every day recite the Hours in full. He also continuously had intercourse with monks, and his ambition was to attain to monastic life as much as possible, and to enjoy its peace, or at least be friendly disposed towards those who lived that kind of life. But his brother Demetrius' character was entirely different."¹⁶⁾

Theodorus Scutariota

The Σύνοψις χρονικῆ¹⁷⁾ attributed to Theodorus Scutariota (second half of 13th cent.) exhibits a number of passages of liturgical interest, even if referring to events way back in time.

The following anecdote about the addition to the *Trisagion* brings us back to the days of Patriarch Proclus (434-446):

Sathas, BGMA VII, 75 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τρισάγιος ὑμνος προσθήκην τότε ἐδέξατο τὴν. ἄγιος ἀθάνατος δ στιυρωθεὶς δι ἡμδς, λιτανεύντων τοῦ Πρύκλου καὶ πλείστουν ὅχλουν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, παιδίον ἡρπάγη ὑπὸ ὄνναμέως θείας εἰς τὸν ὄξερα, πάντων ἵσταμένων καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον βοώντων περὶ τρίτην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν δ δὴ παιδίον αὐθίς κατελθόν. ἔλεγον ἀκούμσια θείας φωνῆς προταπτούστης ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ λαῷ, οὗτοι λέγειν τὸν τρισάγιον ὑμνον λιτανεύντας, Ἀγιος ὁ Θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμδς, μηδὲν ἔτερον προστιθέντας, δ καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκιλησίᾳ διὰ βασιλικοῦ τύπου καὶ συνοδικῆς διατάξεως.

"For even the thrice holy hymn by that time had an addition made to it: "Holy, immortal, you who were crucified for us". when patriarch Proclus and a large multitude were celebrating service outside the city, a young man was raptured into the air by some divine force, while everybody stood around singing the *Kyrie* about the third hour of the day. When the young man had come down again, he told that he had heard a divine voice ordering him to tell the bishop and the congregation that they were to say the *Trisagion* in the service thus: "Holy God, Holy strong, holy immortal have mercy on us" without further addition, which has also prevailed in God's Church by royal ordinance and synodical regulation."

And a brief reference to the history of the Akathistos Hymn in connection with the assault of the Avars on Constantinople in 626:

Sathas, BGMA VII, 109 'Εκτοτε οὖν εἰς μνήμην τοῦ θαύματος ἡ τῆς Ἀκαθίστου κινή' ἔτος ἐτοπάθη γράλλεσθαι παννυχίς τοῦ Σεργίου συνταξαμένου τοὺς κατὰ στοιχεῖον, οὓς δὴ καὶ Οἰκους λέγομεν. νύμνους τῇ νικοποιῷ καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ ἡμῶν.

"From then on it was ordained that the Vigil of the Akathistos should be chanted every year to commemorate the miracle. [Patriarch] Sergius composed the alphabetic hymns,¹⁸⁾ those that we use to call "Oikoi" [Houses = Stanzas], to Her who granted us victory and fought on behalf of us."

* * *

Finally I would like to quote just one example from a *non-Greek* text, the 15th century Life of the Serb despot Stephen Lazarevic, written by Constantine of Kostenec:

"And he <Stephen> went about doing good deeds. But it happened on Maundy Thursday, just as they were chanting: "Son of God, let me to-day partake in your Holy Communion" - he could no longer restrain himself, but began to weep bitterly. He went outside crying from the bottom of his heart, but having washed his face, he entered anew. And again he wept loudly."¹⁹⁾

In my opinion as good an example as any of the effect of liturgical chant on the mind of the worshipper!

Addendum: Secular music

In the *Alexias* of Anna Comnena (XV,vii,2)²⁰⁾ we find the following passage expressing a negative attitude towards *Tafelmusik*:

καὶ ἦν ἡ τράπεζα πανδαισία τις θεῖκή οὐκ ὀργάνων παρόντων οὐδὲ αὐλῶν οὐδὲ τυμπάνων οὐδὲ τὸ παράπλαν μουσικῆς τινος ἐνοχλούσης.

"And the table was a divine banquet, without the presence of instruments, neither flutes nor drums nor any kind of music in general to disturb the diners."²¹⁾

NOTES:

1) R. Widdess, *Historical Ethnomusicology*, in *Ethnomusicology, An introduction* I, ed. H. Myers, New York 1992, 219-37, quotation 220.

2) Cf. my preceding contributions on these "testimonia": I) On collecting "testimonia" of Byzantine musical practice. *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 57, Copenhague 1988), 159-166. II) "Testimonia" of Byzantine musical practice, chiefly collected from non musical (literary) sources. *Colloque sur le chant byzantin, organisé à la Fondation Royaumont par le Centre Européen pour la Recherche et l'Interprétation des Musiques Médiévales* du 12 au 15 décembre 1996 (forthcoming). In particular the latter contribution will offer to the reader more general information on scope and method of the project. Among the texts consulted by me so far it should be noted that the *Ὕλη ἱστορίας* of Nicephorus Bryennius (ed. P. Gautier. CFHB. Series Bruxellensis, IX. Bruxelles 1975) contains no references or hints whatsoever at ecclesiastical music and/or liturgical practice.

3) Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor. Rec. A. Lesmüller-Werner et I. Thurn. CFHB. Series Berolinensis, XIV. Berlin & New York 1978, 14-15.

- 4) Cf. the Modern Greek translation: Ἰωσήφ Γενέσιος, Περὶ βασιλείων. Μετάφραση - Σχόλια Πλανλός Νιάρης. Εισαγωγὴ - Επιστημονικὴ θεωρότης τῆς μετάφρασης Δημήτρης Τσουγκαράκης. Κέρμενα βυζαντινῆς Ἰστοριογραφίας - 3. Ἀθῆνα 1994, 56.
- 5) Leonis Diaconi caloënsis Historiae libri decem et liber de velicitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti e recensione Caroli Benedicti Hasii. CSHB. Bonn 1828.
- 6) Cf. the German translation: Nikephoros Phokas "Der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen" und Johannes Tzimiskes. *Die Zeit von 959 bis 976 in der Darstellung des Leo Diaconos. Übersetzt von Franz Loretto.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Bd. X. Graz - Wien - Köln 1961, 86, 112.
- 7) Editions of the Greek text: B. Vassilievskij et V. Jernstedt, Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regiis libellus. Petropoli 1896 and Litavrin (see the following note). Only Litavrin's edition has been accesible to me.
- 8) Cf. the German translation of this passage: Vademeum des byzantinischen Aristokraten. *Das sogenannte Strategikon des Kekaumeno, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Hans-Georg Beck.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Bd. V. Graz - Wien - Köln 1956/64, 74-75; and the Russian: Soveti i rasskazi Kekavmena. Sochinenie vizantijskogo poikobodza XI veka. Podgotovka teksta, vvedenie, perevod i kommentarij G. G. Litavrina. Moskva 1972, 193-195.
- 9) Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum. Ad fidem codicis Valicani recensuit Augustus Meineke. CSHB. Bonn 1836. French translation: Jean Kinnamos, Chronique traduite par J. Rosenblum, Paris 1972.
- 10) This is a *sticheron* in the Fourth Mode from the Triodion, 4th Week of Lent. Cf. e.g. the *Sticherarium Ambrosianum* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. XI Sticherarium Ambrosianum. edendum curaverunt Lidia Perria et Jørgen Raasted. Codex Bibliothecae Ambrosianae A 139 sup. phototypice depictus. Pars Principalis. Hauniae 1992), fol. 204v.
- 11) Editions of the Greek text of the *De expugnatione*: G.L.F. Tafel, Eustathii Opuscula. Frankfurt 1832; I. Bekker, CSHB. Bonn 1842; S. Kyriakidis, La espugnazione di Tessalonica. Palermo 1961 (with Italian translation). The editions of Tafel and Kyriakidis have both been inaccesible to me.
- 12) Cf. the German translation of this and the following passages: Die Normannen in Thessalonike. *Die Eroberung von Thessalonike durch die Normannen (1185 n. Chr.) in der Augenzeugschilderung des Bischofs Eustathios, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Herbert Hunger.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Bd. III. Graz - Wien - Köln 1955, 117, 119-120, 126-127, 127-128, 133-135.
- 13) Nicetae Choniatae Historia recensuit Ioannes Aloysius van Dieten. CFHB. Series Berolinensis, XI/1-2. Berlin 1975.
- 14) For this and the following quotation, cf. the German translation: Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron. *Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Alexios II., Andronikos und Isaak Angelos (1180-1195) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Franz Grabler.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Bd. VIII. Graz - Wien - Köln 1958, 45 and 95-96.
- 15) Georgii Acropolitae opera I. Ed. A. Heisenberg. Lipsiae 1903, 70-71.
- 16) Cf. the practically identical passage in Theodorus Scutariota:

Sathas, BGMA VII, 490 Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν Θεοσαλονίκῃ δεσπότην τὸ χρεῶν εἰλήφει, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος πρεσβείαν στέλλει πρός βασιλέα τοῦ τε δεσποτικοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς χώρας ικληρονόμος εἶναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. Άλλ' ἦν οὐτος οὐκ ἀδελφὸς ἐκείνῳ φρονῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀπείχεν ἐκείνους ἐκείνος γάρ ευσεβείᾳ καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διέζη καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἡμέρα τοῦ ἑτούς δλον, καθ' ἦν μὴ τῆς θείας ἱεροτελεστείας ἐπηκροάσατο, εἰ μή τις ἐκώλυε νόσος, προσθῆξε δὲ παννυχίσι καὶ ὑμνωδίαις, ὡμίλει δὲ καὶ Ναζιραίως διηνεκῶς, ἐπιποθῶν καὶ αὐτός τυχεῖν τούτων τοῦ σχήματος.

17) Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη (BGMA), ἐπιστασία Κ. Ν. Σάθα, τόμ. I-VII, Βενετία - Ἀθήναι - Παρίσιον 1872-1894. Τόμ. VII, 1-556 Theodorus Scutariota.

18) Whoever wrote the *stanzas* of the Akathistos, Patriarch Sergius I (610-38) hardly comes in for consideration as their author. Cf. the detailed discussion of the authorship: The Akathistos Hymn, introduced and transcribed by Egon Wellesz. MMB Transcripta, Vol. IX. Copenhagen 1957, xx-xxxii.

19) This quotation was translated from the *Danish* (!) translation (Konstantin fra Kostene, Den serbiske Despot Stefan Lazarevics liv og levned. Oversat og kommenteret af Gunnar Svane. København 1975 ,147), the church Slavonic text being inaccesible to me.

20) Anne Commène, Alexiade, tome III (livres XI-XV). Texte établi et traduit par Bernard Leib, S. J. Paris 1945, 214 (with French translation).

21) the English (Penguin) translation by E.R.A. Sewter. Harmondsworth 1969 has been inaccesible to me.